

# PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

## GERMAN REARMAMENT

—and the false antithesis

By Reginald Reynolds

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## Young Russians' tour goes well

Mutual interest shown

By Barbara Bowman

MANY people have already met the six Russians who are at present touring Britain with six Young Friends, staying each night in Quaker homes. The Russians have expressed appreciation of the hospitality received and their hosts have enjoyed having them.

Formal speech-making has been reduced to the minimum, but there have been opportunities for discussion while travelling in the cars, with hosts and hostesses, and with larger groups of Friends.

At Cambridge the two teams met about 50 young Friends at a coffee party in Clare College, and some older Friends the next day for lunch at the Meeting House. At Leicester about 60 people gathered at the Meeting House to question and be questioned by the guests in informal groups.

At Sheffield the two teams divided into three groups; the hostess providing supper for each group invited other Friends in to talk to their guests. Leeds Young Friends talked and listened hard as they conducted the Russians round Roundhay Park.

### Eager to learn

The Russians are eager to learn all they can about Britain, and are particularly interested in standards of living, conditions of work, and opportunities for young people.

On their way from London to Cambridge the teams chatted for a few moments with the campers at Newport work camp. The next day Cambridge Young Friends guided them round the University and town, the Russians showing particular interest in the libraries and book-shops.

Leicester Friends arranged visits to the College of Art, to Marks and Spencer's and to the Railway Station.

At Sheffield the teams visited a cutlery works and were received by the Lord Mayor.

On their way from Sheffield to Leeds they spent some time down a coal mine. At every opportunity the Russians have quickly established friendly contacts with the workers in factory, shop or mine and questioned them eagerly.

The journey from Leeds to Yealand was interrupted by a visit to the Young Friends camp at Osmotherley where, after animated discussion over refreshments, there was some English country dancing. Wensleydale Friends met the teams for tea at Newbiggin.

### Desire for friendship

The Russian team is a delegation of Soviet youth sent by the Anti-Fascist committee, the co-ordinating body most representative of young people in the Soviet Union.

Ivan Vassilyev, the leader, represents the Anti-Fascist Committee itself. He is Director of a Youth Publishing House.

The other members of the team were recommended by different youth groups. Evgenii Bugrov, who represents the students of Moscow University, is doing post-graduate research work in political economy. Nicolai Kononov teaches English in an evening school for working people aged fifteen to twenty-five.

Viktor Khmara, a Ukrainian, is a correspondent for a youth paper. Gelii Chernov is a student of English language and literature; he is writing a thesis on English translations of Russian works. Oksana Ulrich, a post-graduate

## 3<sup>RD</sup> CAMP-EUROPE MEETING THIS YEAR

By Olwen Battersby

A EUROPEAN Third Camp conference, arranged by the Third Way Movement of Holland, and probably taking place at the Tropical Institute, Amsterdam, was proposed for the autumn, Tom Wardle told an enthusiastic audience in London on Tuesday.

A World Third Camp conference, proposed by a member from the Lebanon, was under consideration for 1955, and was likely to take place in the Middle East.

At last the blanket of apathy was lifting, Tom Wardle continued. People were daring to think again, to believe that mankind need not remain at the mercy of the two great power blocs. They were beginning to realise that there was a third element or force which could change the power struggle, and give a more rewarding life to the individual.

The peoples of Africa, India, South America and Europe were working their way towards a Third Camp conception; in America and Russia there were tendencies which were potentially significant and could be brought to fruition. The time was now ripe for the Third Camp. "If you marry the right idea with the right time, then you get a movement," he said.

There were two broad aspects of the movement:

1. The Territorial aspect: the creation of what Prime Minister Nehru had called "Peace Areas." A number of states—including India, Burma, Ceylon and Indonesia—by remaining aloof from both power blocs has shown the world an alternative conception of foreign policy to that offered by the East and the West.

2. The Ideological aspect: the aspect of thought rather than space, which rejected capitalism, communism and state socialism, and aimed at the creation of an ordered society and freedom for the individual.

He outlined briefly the course of the Third Camp movement up to the present day: the inauguration of the "Third Way Movement" in Holland in 1947; the American conference in New York which drew up a Third Camp declaration and from which emerged a Third Camp Contact Committee; the conference in Oxford; London; and Paris.

### WRI CONFERENCE IN PARIS

Stuart Morris explained that the Third Camp conference in Paris, organised by the War Resisters' International, had been "an exploratory conference": there had been no attempt to reach any kind of definite decisions. A report of the conference had been sent to all WRI sections throughout the world for further discussion.

A. J. Muste, in the first talk on the subject, had said that only the introduction of a new creative element from outside the two power blocs could change the world situation.

Two problems had to be considered. 1. The present dependence of Western Europe on

student of economics, represents Moscow young scientists. Her research work has taken her round factories and down mines in the USSR.

In conversation, by presenting gifts, and above all by themselves becoming friends with the British team and others, the Russians are demonstrating a desire for friendship between the young people of their country and ours.

After visiting Manchester and Birmingham, the teams will spend a week at charney Manor, where they hope to have time for more integrated discussion than is possible while touring.

America; and 2. The alternative to the way of violence.

On the first point it should be stated that although economic independence would involve sacrifices, resources now being used for destructive purposes would at the same time be released for constructive enterprise. Where there was faith and vision the necessary sacrifices would be forthcoming.

On the second point a faith in the power of non-violent resistance must be created.

The Third Camp aimed not at dividing the world, but at bringing together the multitude from all countries to work together for a new world.

Fenner Brockway, MP, speaking at Paris on the colonial aspect of the Third Camp, had emphasised the fact that moral power was recognised even in hard-headed political circles: hence the position of Prime Minister Nehru, and the influence of the Asian Arab group in the United Nations Organisation.

The importance of the colonial peoples as producers of food and raw materials was becoming more and more acknowledged. These people had instinctive and intuitive association with the way of the Third Camp. If the movement allied itself with the world crusade against destitution, disease, and illiteracy, and with the struggle for freedom, it would gain powerful allies for the cause of peace. If it failed in this task, vast areas of the world might become Communist.

Horace Alexander, follower and friend of Gandhi, had drawn the attention of the WRI conference to the Gandhian conception of society: a harmonious society based on the soil, with concern for the primary producers, in which the common people were encouraged to help themselves.

Andre Trocmé had pointed out that the Third Camp was in effect a political movement. Politics were concerned with power;

□ On back page

## Protest against ban on "Socialist Outlook"

IT is rather ironical that just when Mr. Morgan Phillips is "associating" with Mr. Malenkov and Mr. Molotov, and contributing to the programme of the Moscow Radio Station, his most recent letter to Trade Unions and Constituency and Local Labour Parties, etc., should be coming before those bodies for consideration. For in it he is announcing that the National Executive of the Labour Party has decided to declare ineligible for membership of the Labour Party all persons "associated with" or "supporting" the left-wing newspaper, Socialist Outlook.

A meeting of protest against this action has been arranged for Thursday, August 26, at 7.30 p.m. to be held at Holborn Hall, 61 Gray's Inn Road, London. The speakers will be Michael Foot (Tribune), Kingsley Martin (New Statesman), Allen Skinner (Peace News), John Harris (Forward), Monica Pearson, and G. Healy (Socialist Outlook).

## AFRICA PREPARES



Unations

These African students are members of an adult literacy class in the United Nations Trust Territory of French Togoland. They are learning to read and write in their local dialect and also in French. By such means as this the peoples of Africa are preparing themselves to play a greater role in the affairs of the world. Mr. Fenner Brockway, MP, spoke about that role at the recent conference of the War Resisters' International in Paris. His speech is reported on the back page.

## THIRD CAMP LIAISON ARRANGEMENTS

DURING the Paris Conference of the War Resisters' International the following group met informally to discuss the possibility of continuing activity on the Third Camp conception: J. W. E. Riemens (Holland), Dr. Nikolaus Koch (Germany), Stuart Morris and Allen Skinner (Britain) and Arlo Tatum and A. J. Muste (USA).

They agreed to support and commend to others for consideration and support the following measures:

1. For the present the Third Camp Contact Committee in New York, 513 West 166th Street, New York, 32, should continue to serve as international correspondence centre. It is asked to issue a summary of its correspondence on a proposed Third Camp manifesto and to make suggestions as to the next step on the process of formulating a statement which might secure a considerable number of signatories from all parts of the world.

### Conference Planned

2. Derde Weg (Postbus 4036, Amsterdam, Holland), is asked to serve as a documentation Centre, collecting relevant material on "Third Camp" activities and statements, and from time to time issuing a bulletin summarising material or in certain cases reproducing documents.

3. It was agreed that it is highly desirable that as soon as possible, in the summer or early winter, a conference of Third Camp people in Western Europe should be held and Derde Weg of Holland was suggested as the best agency to undertake the arrangements. It was agreed that the conference should not be for the purpose of making a public demonstration for the Third Camp but for clarification of the thinking of various interested elements. The conference should therefore not be large and attendance should be by invitation to groups and individuals, not a general public invitation.

4. Consideration should be given at this conference and in correspondence to the matter of locating the international correspondence centre at a fairly early date in some place other than the USA—preferably Asia or Africa, but in Western Europe if no suitable place is available in the other continents.

5. Everything possible should be done to encourage the setting up of Contact Committees for various countries by groups and individuals in the respective countries.

6. It is understood the name "Third Camp" is subject to change.

### More of this please

THE British Government is to make 6,000 tons of canned milk available free of charge in the colonies for use in hospitals and schools and for infant and child welfare generally.



What's Russian for "Smile, please"? Whatever it is, these two young men, members of the team of Russian youth now on tour in Britain, seem to have said it as they photograph a bevy of their Quaker hostesses in London recently. The photographers are (left) Nikolai Kononov and Gelii Chernov. The girls are, left to right: Ruth Cannell, of Epsom; Mary Protheroe, of Cardiff; Ann Geale, of Birmingham; and Barbara Bowman, of Maidstone.



## PEACE NEWS

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### ARMS AND THE GERMANS

ON the basis of the new proposals to be advanced by M. Mendes-France, German rearmament is likely to be discussed in the next month or two in a hectic atmosphere of war hatreds.

The statement of Dr. Otto John after his transfer from West to East Germany, and the publication of Lord Russell's book, "The Scourge of the Swastika," with his resignation from the post of Assistant Judge Advocate General as a preliminary because the Foreign Office took the view that its publication would be prejudicial to the campaign for rearming Germany, will each contribute to the creation of such an atmosphere.

Writing in the August 6 issue on the need to bring moral considerations into international politics we remarked that when a power struggle is in progress, although both sides appeal from time to time to moral conceptions, they only do this in subordination to power considerations, and use moral considerations as occasionally convenient mental auxiliaries in the power struggle.

The official attitude to Lord Russell's book is a piece of further evidence for this fact. The truth of the charges he makes, the validity of the pictures, are not in question. Indeed, he was earlier given official encouragement to write the book. It is simply that now it is written it happens to be inconvenient to official policy.

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Facts of this kind confirm the pacifist's scepticism regarding atrocity stories. Atrocities take place in war, of course, and in World War II to a greater extent than earlier. The accounts of them are not published in the newspapers, however, out of a regard for moral standards.

They are published when they can be used as a weapon of war, or as an instrument of policy. The revelations that Lord Russell has set down do not at present furnish a useful instrument of policy for the Western bloc; similarly we get no full disclosure of the atrocities of Hiroshima and Nagasaki, because an emphasis here upon the truth does not provide a useful instrument of policy for either of the power blocs.

Writing on the rearmament of Germany and on Dr. John's statements, Mr. Sefton Delmer says in the Daily Express that there is a development in regard to the new German army which "for its secrecy and williness matches well the precedents set in the twenties and early thirties." "The tricks and deceptions by which General Seeckt and General Schleicher rearmed the Germans while the Oh! so pacific Dr. Stresemann covered for them with protests of goodwill and good Europeanism have their counterpart today."

How wicked these Germans are! They are secret and wily: they resort to tricks and deceptions; they cover up with protests of goodwill and good Europeanism. So different from the Russians; and so different from the Americans and the British!

What cant all this stuff is! Of course the German militarists are secret and wily and tricky and deceitful, as are the rulers of all nations that seek to base their influence on armed power. Look at the dirty little nest of espionage and counter-espionage in regard to which Mr. Sefton Delmer lifts a little of the curtain in his accounts of what has happened round Dr. John.

Tricks, williness, secrecy and deception are the very stuff upon which power politics depends; and why should there be any expectation that a would-be military power, prevented by force by other military powers from building up its army and air-force, will not do what it can to circumvent the other military powers that are seeking to control it, by williness and deception?

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Mr. Sefton Delmer should remember that when the "Oh! so pacific Dr. Stresemann" was covering up the earlier tentatives of German militarism in the period of World War I the "Oh! so pacific" victorious allies had given an undertaking that the enforced disarmament of Germany was merely a preliminary to the disarmament of the other powers by agreement, an undertaking that there was never the slightest attempt to honour. Why should it be expected that a defeated nation should be less prone to resort to deception than the victors?

We should like to see Germany disarmed—as so many Germans would also like to see Germany disarmed—by its own volition, because it has learned the moral dangers that accompany armaments and that are by no means confined to Germany.

With armaments the Nazi-minded Germans will be back in the saddle, we are told. Of course they will. There is no great gulf between Nazi-minded and military-minded. In East Germany as well as in West Germany as military preparations go forward the Nazi-minded will come back to positions of influence.

Can any discerning person who reads the pronouncements of General MacArthur, General Mark Clark, or for that matter Field-Marshal Montgomery, perceive any very great difference between the outlook of these men and that of the German generals, on whichever side of the occupation line they may be?

Ever since the end of the war it is the allied generals that have had the most to do with the forming of the climate of opinion in Germany. It is they that have seen to it that the post-war pacifism of the German people was not permitted to develop, and the tragic beginning made by the British Labour Government in this field has been built upon later by the more powerful American militarism.

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M. Mendes-France wants to make "one more try" at getting agreement with Russia on the reunification of Germany before entering upon arrangements for German rearmament. It is very desirable that the German people themselves shall have an opportunity of deciding upon the future shape of their nation, but to deal with this matter would not remove the question of the rearmament of Germany.

It is a very unlikely thing that a nation with a military tradition can be brought to a repudiation of militarism by the imposition of renewed military preparation through external military pressures; it is at least equally unlikely that it will draw an anti-militarist moral from an attempt to impose disarmament by a threat of military action.

It is impossible to control from outside the future of a people of 65 millions without imposing an intolerable burden on those who are to operate the controls; controls which will inevitably break down ultimately in the face of the same kind of nationalist hysteria that created the Hitler regime.

The problem of German armament is not a special problem. It is part of the general problem that the Germans might have been encouraged to help to solve by free renunciation of arms. The British or the French, however, can equally help to solve it by similar means.

### Touch and go

M. Mendes-France has not been so successful in his attempt to find a compromise on EDC as he was over Indo-China, Tunis or the domestic economic situation. The divisions in this case go much deeper and, now that the Prime Minister has indicated his own support for some form of German rearmament, have sharpened acutely.

The consultations within the Cabinet have resulted in the resignations of three Gaullist Ministers and in a failure to rally a large national majority in support of the compromise. Indeed M. Mendes-France seems to have fallen between two stools. He has not satisfied either the opponents or the supporters of EDC in France and it is extremely doubtful whether France's partners in the agreement will accept the new proposals when they meet in Brussels.

They will certainly be opposed to any further delay in the implementation of the full treaty when strong doubt exists of a favourable vote in the French Parliament on the compromise proposals. The fundamental changes suggested involve the length of the Treaty, which would become co-terminous with NATO and could be renounced if NATO were to be revoked, Germany reunited or British and American troops withdrawn from Europe.

Moreover, only those French troops stationed in Germany would be regarded as part of EDC and the supranational articles would be delayed for eight years. The debate in the French Parliament has been postponed by four days until August 28-31 and the Prime Minister has decided to make it a matter of confidence.

In this way he may hope to persuade some of the reluctant delegates to support him, if the alternative is his resignation, for he has undoubtedly captured the public imagination more than any other prime minister for several years. Even if the Assembly votes in favour of ratification, subject to the acceptance of the new conditions, the debate in the Senate cannot take place for some months.

The Prime Minister may well argue that the interval can be used for further four power conferences on Germany, which he is believed to favour, and which might change the whole outlook in Western Europe. Certainly no further step would be taken in France or elsewhere which would decide the pattern in Western Europe for several years, until a further attempt has been made to reach agreement on a peaceful solution of the German problem.

### Eight power conference

The eight power talks on measures for collective security in S.E. Asia will begin in the Philippines on September 6. The purpose of the proposed treaty will be to make it clear that any Communist aggression within an area to be defined would be met with immediate action, not necessarily confined to the actual scene of aggression.

It is expected that both Mr. Foster Dulles and Mr. Anthony Eden will attend, and it is to be hoped that the British Foreign Secretary will, if necessary, again stand firmly against any American proposals to involve this country or the Commonwealth in a policy of liberation or a collective security system similar to NATO.

Any treaty which aims at defining a sphere to be kept free from Communist influence and the measures to be taken in event of an aggression, but does not take into account the causes of nationalist and revolutionary movements in the Far East and the right of people to choose their own form of government, freely, can make no contribution to a peaceful settlement.

The world wants less and not more of so-called security pacts, which are by their nature designed to protect existing interests and to maintain the status quo and must increase tension and give greater emphasis to the readiness to settle disputes by collective violence instead of by mutual negotiation and a readiness to remove the causes of unrest.

Security can only come with such a change of conditions as will help to create a peace within which all men everywhere will be enabled to enjoy living standards as high as we believe to be necessary for ourselves and freedom to live their lives in full human dignity.

### This freedom

It was interesting to learn that one of the main subjects discussed by Mr. Attlee and Mr. Molotov was freedom, and that the former was at pains to explain that for the East freedom meant freedom from making a choice but for the West it involved freedom to make a choice.

However sound the distinction may be, in theory, Mr. Malenkov might have had one or two thrusts which Mr. Attlee would have found hard to parry. With the general hardening of disciplinary measures, with the attempt to bias the voting on German rearmament, with the banning of Socialist Outlook and the threat to all in any way associated with it, the Party Executive is not a very good exponent of the definition which its leader asks Mr. Molotov to accept.

Actions still speak louder than words and if the Labour Party want the Communists to understand the full meaning of freedom and to change their own conception of it, they should be more anxious to demonstrate their own regard for it, and show in practice that they really expect their followers to reject any

## BEHIND THE NEWS

attempt to make up their minds for them, that they respect decisions which do not coincide with the official view, and that the more individuals exercise their right to make their own decisions the more freedom is enhanced.

### "Preventive" war

General Mark Clark wants the USA to break off diplomatic relations with Communist countries and turn UN into an anti-Communist organisation and Dr. Rhee demands an immediate war on China, and if it should involve Russia as well, so much the better.

So it is not to be wondered at that Chou en Lai wants to liquidate the government of Chiang Kai-shek on Formosa and warns foreigners there that they must take the consequences of interference. All of which cures are more likely to kill the patient than is the disease.

Although Eisenhower has repudiated Mark Clark and reaffirmed American faith in UN he was careful to pay tribute to the General. He has also dismissed as illogical any suggestion of a preventive war and recognised that under modern conditions no one could seriously suggest that to precipitate a war now would save mankind from a greater tragedy later, since such a decision would unleash the full horror of atomic weapons so that "in the first round several cities would become a pile of ruins, many thousands of people would be dead or mangled, transport would be dislocated and destruction would be on a vast scale. That was war and there was nothing preventive about it."

Because that indeed is war there can never be anything but disaster involved in it come when it might, called by any name, and never a chance of any constructive result from it. To dismiss a preventive war for these reasons is to expose the madness of all war, and if he wants to be logical the President must renounce not only preventive war but war of every kind and for any reason.

He must not only repudiate Mark Clark but definitely renounce the policy of "liberation." He must refuse further support for Chiang Kai-shek and advocate the admission to UN of the Peking Government. He must seek the positive steps which will remove the causes of war and of tension. It is the cure of the causes of war which is its prevention, and the only logic and morality of the situation.

### Psychological warfare

One of the consequences of the cold war is the seeming impossibility that any event should be judged fairly and without bias or the suggestion of underlying motives.

When both sides are permanently ranged against each other and use propaganda as a weapon in the cold war, the motive underlying any action is immediately suspect and the whole case prejudiced from the start. The Russian proposals for a further conference on Germany must have an ulterior motive.

The visit of Mr. Attlee and his friends to Russia and China must have been made with an eye on the next election, while the reason for the invitations must be not only to widen the rift between Britain and America but also between the Labour Party and the Tories. Dr. John must be a pathological case, since no one in his senses could go voluntarily to E. Germany and Communist domination or choose that fire to jump into, no matter how uncomfortable the frying pan.

All of which is due to the attitude of self-righteousness and superiority which will see no good in the other side or admit that anyone who does not support the anti-Communist policy of the West can be right or sane.

How much easier it would be if everything could be assessed in clear terms of black and white, if all the right was always on one side and all the wrong on the other! But that is never the case. There is good in Communism or it would not make the appeal it does. There is good in private enterprise or it would not have lasted so long. The danger in such unsentimental treatment is that the real reasons and causes for specific action are not understood because they are dismissed by the omnibus suggestion that they do not exist. What is wanted is a new psychological approach to the whole situation, and a recognition that behind specific proposals or action may well be a genuine desire for peace. No one goes so far as to suspect the integrity of others because it may be that honesty is the best policy, and the fact that peace is the best policy for the world should not be allowed to cast doubts upon the motives of those who want to take steps in that direction.

As scientists were used during the war to advise on the best methods of increasing fear, stirring up hatred and suspicion and distrust, so there should be a body of psychologists, a department of psychological peacemaking, trained to explain the real reasons behind different actions, and to promote greater trust and understanding and the lessening of fear.

The real question at issue is whether we are to proceed from the basis of a belief in violence and so do violence to the truth itself, or whether, because we believe in the possibility of negotiation, we recognise the need to create the conditions in which real negotiations become possible.

### COs and the new convention

IN May, 1951, the representatives of the member states of the Council of Europe adopted a Draft Convention for the reciprocal treatment of nationals under which the contracting parties agree to permit and facilitate access to their territory by such nationals of other contracting parties who do not represent a threat to public health, security or morals.

Those who have legally entered the territory of one of the parties and conformed to any conditions imposed on admission may only be expelled if they commit an offence against public order or morals or threaten the security of the state.

Such refugees would enjoy full legal and judicial protection of all their rights and interests as though they were native citizens, including the right to work. They would be exempt from any compulsory military service if they could show that they had fulfilled that obligation in the country of origin, but they would be obliged in the event of war to perform the same civilian services as native citizens.

The draft has been submitted to the Council of Ministers but has not yet been ratified.

The difficulty so far as COs are concerned is that their entry into a foreign country may not be by methods regarded as legal and they would still remain at least technically liable for military service.

The draft does, however, represent a more liberal attitude to refugees and makes it easier to urge some Governments to grant asylum to CO refugees in special cases.

This has already been done in one or two instances with success, and it is hoped that these cases may be useful as valuable precedents in establishing a general right of COs to asylum elsewhere if they have to leave their own country.

### Occupation must end

ONE of the serious consequences of the occupation of Germany has been the requisitioning of a very large number of houses for the use of British, French and American troops and civil representatives.

At a time when the housing shortage was acute and many families were living in air raid shelters or impossible cellars the knowledge that the families of occupation troops and civil servants were living in the comfort of German houses, waited on by German servants, was extremely irksome.

Even though some of the houses have been returned and good progress has been made in repairs and rebuilding, the shortage still remains and requisitioning has not stopped.

The Americans have recently announced their intention to evict some hundreds of people in Bremen and confiscate their property for a new American housing scheme. Although the authorities promised to provide alternative accommodation that was no answer to those who prefer to stay in their own homes.

And why a new housing project at this stage if there is any serious intention to end the occupation?

The result has been serious clashes between the police and the victims of the attempted eviction, supported by 1,500 shipyard workers who have joined in the protest against this injustice.

Although Bremen is in the British zone it is an enclave under American control because it is the port chiefly used by the Americans to bring in their supplies.

Though this may deter the British Government from any legal right to interfere, we hope that they will instruct their High Commissioner to ask his American colleague to stop this act of aggression, which emphasises the necessity of ending occupation and of the withdrawal of all foreign troops from Germany at the earliest possible moment.

We also hope that, if necessary, the scheme will be defeated by non-violent resistance in which many from other parts of Germany may be able to help.

### Soviet military expenditure

RUSSIA'S "defence" budget for 1954 is £939,000,000 less than in 1953. It was £9,839 m. in 1953 and is £8,900 m. for 1954. For the year 1952 it was £10,160 m. There is, therefore, a reduction of £1,260 m. in 1954 as compared with 1952.

Some caution must be used in comparing these figures with the "defence" figures of the Western powers as it is possible that some factors that would be included in the US and British "defence" are not included in Russia. There is, however, no reason why the figures given above should not be regarded as a reliable indication of a decline in Russian military expenditure.



# ECUMENICAL WORK CAMPS

## —a venture in practical Christianity

PUTTING their Christianity into practical expression, over 800 young people have this year attended work-camps all over the world sponsored by the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches

From the little town of Chambon-sur-Lignon in France, famous for the non-violent resistance of its citizens to the Vichy police during the war, to the earthquake-devastated Ionian Islands; from Hiroshima to the Cameroons, projects were organised and completed.

### Not solely Christian

Answering questions about the origin and motives of the movement, the World Council Youth Department says:

"The work-camp idea is not solely Christian, but there is so much in the idea of simple, hard work done as service by young people working together for a common purpose regardless of nationality, colour, or background, that it makes a special appeal to Christian groups. The Christian concept of work, of fellowship, and of love can bring a deeper significance and understanding to the work-camps, and just because of the group fellowship in hard daily work, the work-camp can be a deep spiritual experience."

By Ecumenical is meant the whole Church in the whole world at work in the whole life. The word is used to refer to the movement towards a realisation of greater unity among the separate branches and divisions of the Christian Church.

Although organised by the World Council of Churches, the work-camps are not exclusive to Christians. Intending work-campers are asked, however, to accept the fact that the whole of the life of the camps is motivated by convictions of Christian young people seeking to practise their beliefs in all aspects of daily life.

### Discussion and recreation

Discussions and recreational periods form part of the life of each camp.

## News in Brief

The Congress of Japanese Intellectuals, 2-2, Jinbo-Cho, Kanda, Chiyoda-Ku, Tokyo-To, Japan, has published the first number of its new organ entitled Congress of Japanese Intellectuals. It contains mostly material discussing the effect of the Bikini H-bomb explosions on the Japanese people.

Conscientious objectors in the Netherlands numbered 28 in 1953, and so far, 18, in 1954. In 1953, 50 per cent. were recognised as COs, in 1954, 44 per cent. No non-registered objector in 1954 received more than six months imprisonment. As a result of this the youth prison at Vught will soon contain only three COs. Some years ago there were about 60 in prison.

A new pacifist journal, Arunodayam (Sunrise), is published by the Secretary of the Indian Fellowship of Reconciliation, K. K. Chandy, from Christavashram, Mangalam, Kottayam, India. Subscription rates: UK, 7s.; USA, \$1; India, Burma, Ceylon and Pakistan, Rs3.

Dr. Albert Schweitzer was last year awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for the year 1952, amounting to the equivalent of nearly £12,000. It has been spent in the purchase of galvanised iron roofing for the leper colony he is building near his African hospital.

## THAT FOUR-MINUTE MILE

WORLDWIDE interest has been aroused in the running of a mile under four minutes by two athletes and thousands who normally take little interest in such contests were thrilled at the race between Bannister and Landy in the Empire Games.

Not so long ago a four minute mile seemed to be beyond possibility. Now both these runners have achieved their aim, but only by very strict training and very careful planning. The result was only possible by running to a time schedule for each of the four laps, and if either had got too far behind at any stage he would not have achieved his aim.

Thanks to some generous gifts including a share in a legacy, for which we are very grateful we have had a good "lap" this month and caught up some of the distance we were in arrears, but we have to face the fact that we are still behind in our race against time. We are two-thirds of the way but still have to find over £600 of the total if we are not to lose our previous record for HQ Fund.

I am confident that we can still catch up if we do not leave the effort until too late. So I hope that our race against time will arouse as much interest among all readers of Peace News and that everyone will contribute something to make the final result another record.

But, please, do not leave it until too late. Make the necessary effort now so that we can catch up on our time schedule, and then be ready for the final spurt which will carry us to victory at the end of the year.

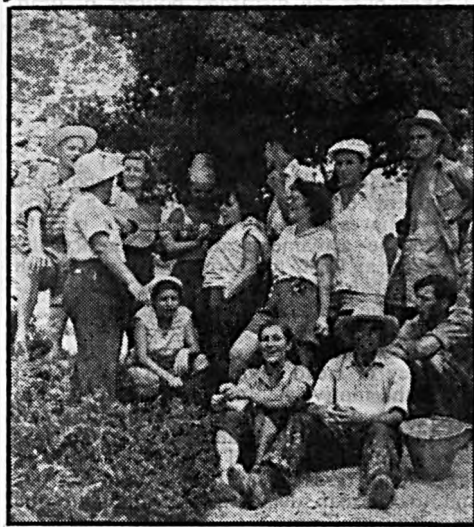
STUART MORRIS,  
General Secretary

Our aim is to reach £1,000 in 12 months. We have now received £386 in eight months. We need £280 to catch up. And a further £333 by the end of the year.

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

Young people, and adults (for there are additional camps for adult persons too) can obtain full information from the world headquarters of the World Council Youth Department at 17 Route de Malagnou, Geneva. For Britain, the address is Rev. Ed. Patey, British Council of Churches, Youth Department, 39 Doughty St., London, W.C.1.

## INTERNATIONAL SING-SONG



Ecumenical work-campers from nine countries join voices in mealtime songs of their various homelands, including Iceland, Sweden, Finland, England, Germany, Holland, France, Greece and the USA. Under sponsorship of the Youth Department of the World Council of Churches, the campers were helping to install vitally-needed irrigation ditches on parched hillside farms near Moulis, Greece.

## US Judge denounces Fellowship of Reconciliation

A US federal judge, the American Legion, the local daily newspaper, the local fellowship of Reconciliation group, the school board, and apparently a good many of the other citizens of Brattleboro, Vermont, USA all got involved in a public argument and discussion recently about letting provisions for conscientious objectors be known.

The incident was set off by an Air Force recruiting officer speaking to a compulsory high school study hall in the Brattleboro Public School. The Fellowship of Reconciliation, a national Christian pacifist organisation, then sent a delegation of four persons to the school board meeting May 25 to ask that school time be given to the FOR to explain about the CO provisions of the draft law.

The request brought an immediate antagonistic response from Legionnaires. The local paper, The Brattleboro Daily Reformer, suggested editorially that everyone should be familiar with the draft law and that it should be explained to the students by an impartial person rather than the FOR or the armed forces. The FOR publicly accepted this proposal in a letter to the editor which was published.

June 4 the American Legion held a meeting at which, according to the Brattleboro Reformer report, they took a "vehement stand" and unanimously adopted a resolution opposing the "preaching of pacifist doctrines by the Fellowship of Reconciliation in the schools of Brattleboro."

US District Court Judge Ernest W. Gibson, senior vice-commander of the Legion, blasted heavily at the ideas of the FOR, denounced it as "propaganda under the guise of free speech" . . . "opposition to a policy of the United States," etc. However, the judge granted that the FOR had the right to spread their propaganda on the streets and said he'd furnish a soapbox for that purpose.

The judge found the FOR statement of purpose to be a good example of the obnoxious teachings of the FOR and quoted from it as follows:

"The Fellowship of Reconciliation is a movement inspired out of the despair felt by all men of good will at the outbreak of World War I. Its leading spirits sought to bring into contact all who were of the opinion that no human conflict is ever resolved by violence, hate or war. To that end the organisation was born in London. Today it counts members in all the continents of the world. They stand unalterably opposed to military conflict and preparedness. In its stead they place an activist drive to bridge all human conflict, national, class and personal, by mutual respect and common understanding."

A two column editorial explaining the legal provisions for conscientious objectors and a number of letters to the editor on the subject were also printed. Most persons eventually seemed to conclude that it was legitimate at least to explain all of the provisions of the draft law.

The FOR group in Brattleboro was just recently organised. Many of the members are conscientious objectors assigned to hospital work in Brattleboro.

# London CO Tribunal again misleading on non-combatant service

MICHAEL KENDALL, aged 22½, lives at Ilford, Essex, and has been studying Sociology at the London School of Economics. He has just obtained his BA degree in that subject. He is also interested in pacifism and while at the School helped to found the LSE Pacifist Society, being its treasurer in 1950.

It was therefore in the natural run of things that he should object to military service. He appeared at the recent London CO Tribunal sitting at Fulham.

He had read Tolstoy, Gandhi and Professor Field, and was told rather smugly by a member he had no doubt all these books were available at the LSE. Asked whether he thought it better for Britain to be occupied rather than that he should fight to defend it, he replied that he had no illusions about totalitarianism but thought we should risk the alternative of going to war.

His father, a Civil Defence warden and not a pacifist, told how he had discussed the matter with his son, all to no avail. He still held on to his beliefs. A Regular Army reserve Major also wrote that Michael was sincere and constructive in his outlook.

The Tribunal came to the same conclusion, and in granting him exemption on condition that he did land, hospital, food distribution or building work, said that he was opposed to war for moral reasons and had reached definite conclusions on non-violence.

### Pacifist scientist

An applicant who is well on the way to becoming one of those much-discussed people these days—a scientist—also appeared at the same sitting. He is John Bevan, from Farnborough, Hants, whose father was a CO in the last war and is now a local adviser for the Central Board for Conscientious Objectors. John is a student of physics and mathematics and is going to Oxford University in 1956 to continue his studies in these subjects. As a Methodist he objected to military service on religious grounds.

Emphatically he declared that non-combatant service was part of the military organisation and that it was a fallacy about his doing Christ-like work in the Royal Army Medical Corps. The RAMC, he said, was necessary to the war machine.

When John received the official report of the proceedings, RAMC was made to read NCC (Non-Combatant Corps). This is significant because, as Peace News readers are aware, this misleading question is a stock one at Fulham. If an applicant, posed with this question agrees that he can do Christ-like work in the RAMC and accepts non-combatant duties on that condition, he has not the remotest chance of going into the RAMC unless he has particularly strong medical qualifications.

Even then, the RAMC frowns on COs because of their "nuisance value." So in all cases where a CO accepts non-combatant service as a condition he is automatically drafted to the NCC.

John was just as strong in the belief that he could be a pacifist and a scientist, although meeting with opposition from the Tribunal.

He had a record of activity in Sunday School and other church work. The officer in charge of

his school Cadet Force wrote to say that he could never get him to join.

The chairman, in announcing the tribunal's decision that the applicant be required to perform non-combatant service, added at the end: "He can appeal. He may have better luck there." This was not put on the official report form, but throws an interesting light on the attitude of the chairman.

## Appeal to German Youth

From Lady Clare Annesley

A PASSIONATE appeal to young German Catholics not to be led astray again by military propaganda and to refuse military service has been made in a new pamphlet, "Armaments and Catholic Youth," published in Germany.

The author is George Heidingsfelder, a devout Catholic, who at the age of 18 fought in the first world war, and in World War II was for three years on the staff of a German military prison.

He says that every effort to counteract the remilitarisation of the German soul today is systematically suppressed.

Among the quotations from leading German Catholics which he publishes, are the following:

"The Church forbids killing, no matter what the theologians say. Conscripting is the unthinkable violation of the majesty of the individual conscience."—Dr. Nicholas Ehlen.

"Whosoever declares that those who are really putting the Gospel into practice can join in warfare, that man is the most infamous, blasphemous and a liar against the light."—Theodor Haeker, famous Catholic writer of World War I period.

Other quotations come from Catholic pacifists executed or imprisoned by the Nazis.

"These are the heroes we German Catholics must follow today," the author of the pamphlet declares, "if we wish to save our country from civil war and extermination, and above all remain faithful to the Christian Gospel."

"Wehrmacht und Katholische Jugend," from the author, George Heidingsfelder, Meschede i. Westf., Germany.

## W.R.I. and French COs

THE War Resisters' International Conference in Paris, during its concluding session, addressed an appeal to M. Mendes-France drawing his attention to the fact that while an objection of conscience to military service is legally recognised in 18 countries, there is no legal recognition in France, with the consequence that such men who cannot be compelled to act against their consciences are brought before the courts and sentenced again and again.

The Conference appealed to M. Mendes-France to take measures to have this situation examined and remedied.

# BIG CD RECRUITING DRIVE IS OPPORTUNITY FOR LOCAL PEACE CAMPAIGNS

STARTING in the last two weeks of September the Government is to run an elaborate and expensive campaign to gain more recruits for its Civil Defence services.

At the moment CD personnel in the country number 500,000, that is 250,000 less than the minimum requirement for a peace-time establishment. This figure, apparently, is the figure arrived at before the H-bomb tests. The Government's promised document on revised CD plans in the light of new weapon developments has not yet appeared.

The projected recruiting drive looks like being the largest official pantomime since the Coronation. It will begin with a spate of national advertising—billboards, newspapers and a special peak-time broadcast by the Home Secretary. At 1.10 p.m. every Thursday for four weeks the BBC will broadcast an appeal.



"I've invented an effective life-saver." "Excellent! What's its maximum area of destruction?"

Councils throughout the country have been asked to fix a "Civil Defence Day" in October

as the summit of the campaign. Church parades, demonstrations, stickers and public meetings are likely to be included. Certain cinemas have offered to show recruiting slides free of charge.

The highspot of the campaign will be a personal appeal to citizens. CD vehicles, including fire-engines will be paraded through the streets and side-roads. While this display of defence "might" is going on, CD recruiters will knock on doors and badger householders to join up.

All this provides an excellent opportunity for peace workers to give the people the real facts about national defence against the H-bomb and the war-provoking facade of present-day Civil Defence.

Two special leaflets "Civil Defence and the Hydrogen Bomb"—(Peace News, 5s. 100, 45s. 1,000 post free) and "Who will defend them?" (Peace Pledge Union, 6 Endsleigh St., London, W.C.1.) are available for mass distribution.

Peace groups should see to it that CD propaganda meetings are attended and questions asked, while teams of leaflet distributors can make a point of covering all areas to be visited by the CD canvassers. Poster parades organised to take place simultaneously with CD demonstrations would be particularly effective.

Letters to the local press and protests to councillors will all help to swell the growing public feeling against the waste of public money in perpetrating a deception and drive home the lesson that the only defence against the H-bomb is to have no war.



# GERMAN REARMAMENT

By Reginald  
Reynolds

## —and the false antithesis

**BEN PARKIN** is an honest man and one to whom I owe a personal debt of gratitude. But I have never felt more in disagreement with him than I do at present.

His latest UDC pamphlet, "In Defence of European Peace," by Ben Parkin, MP\*, begins with the question: "Do you want to give guns to the Germans again?"

The answer, of course, is "No." But why only the Germans? I wouldn't give guns—if I had them—to anybody at all, not even to Ben Parkin. What I object to is singling out the case of Germany for discrimination.

★

I object as a pacifist, because the real question is not merely one of "giving" guns to Germans. It is also—and even more—a question as to whether Germany is to be allowed to rearm. We can only prevent that by being heavily armed ourselves—which we are. But as I am opposed to British armaments I cannot support a policy which relies on superior force to compel Germany to remain disarmed.

I object as a democrat, because discrimination against any nation is contrary to democratic principles. I say "nation" rather than "government," because there is an arguable case for democracies discriminating against governments which exist in defiance of the popular will. This would hardly be relevant to the present case. Russia is a totalitarian state; Britain and France are imperialist powers which show no respect whatever for democratic principles in their own colonies—until the colonial peoples make things hot for them.

Western Germany, on the other hand, is not ruled as Russia is, by a party dictatorship, nor is it a colonial power. Whatever the fault of the

\*Union of Democratic Control. 4d.

present regime (and no doubt more through circumstances than choice) Western Germany presents a more democratic picture than its most powerful neighbours.

I object as a realist, because common sense and experience tell me that discrimination is likely to produce the very results that Ben Parkin and his friends most fear. As a pacifist I believe in unilateral disarmament, by which I mean the voluntary disarmament of one's own country. Many Germans want this and I am wholeheartedly with them. I want it here in Britain; and my German friends support British pacifists in this demand as we support them in theirs.

But the policy advocated by Ben Parkin is unilateral disarmament in the wrong sense—the forcible disarmament of one nation by others, claiming to be more righteous and alone worthy of possessing the means of destruction, in short, by self-appointed judges assuming national superiority. Apart from a moral repugnance, I know the effects of such an attitude.

"Yet we have seen dangerous policies endorsed by Germans through the ballot box before," says Ben Parkin, "The Nazis, after all, were voted into power in 1933." Quite so. The ballot box is not proof against human folly—in Britain any more than in Germany. I hope we shall never choose fascism; but what happened in Germany could happen here.

★

So if Germany is better disarmed (which I agree) the same argument will serve for Britain. Also I have even less faith than Ben Parkin has in the ballot box, because I observe that even "democratic" governments do a good deal of war-mongering. They are aggressive and tenacious of the fruits of past aggressions. Why then did it happen that Germany, and not Britain, resorted to Nazism in 1933?

As I read history I should say it was

primarily because we are one of the "have" powers and Germany a "have not"; because many Germans believed—not altogether without reason—in the "encirclement" of Germany; because Germany was so long treated, after the First World War, as morally inferior to the rest of Europe. We gave Hitler all the fuel any demagogue could have asked for, including an attempt to keep Germany disarmed.

In the twenties the most radical opinion in Britain opposed this stupid policy. Today the "Left," in alliance with the Daily Express, has taken over the discarded policies of dead reactionaries as though they wanted those mistakes repeated.

★

I have not often—perhaps never before—been found defending Labour's official policy, and what I have to say now is only a very qualified defence, because I do not support the rearmament of Germany. But for a party which believes in and has done its best to increase the armaments of this country the agreement, at least, to German rearmament is grimly logical. Ben Parkin quotes the peroration of the official Labour pamphlet, *In Defence of Europe*:

"Shall we hold out our hand to German democracy or tread it under foot?" You can suspect the motive behind this question. You can even say flat out that it is the hypocrisy of opportunism. But the question still stands as a very searching one—and what is Ben Parkin's answer to it? It is to say that to hold out our hand to German democracy is unfair to the democracy of France.

This is frankly where I begin to wonder what the word "democracy" means to Ben, these days. As I understood the word, it means rule by the people. Now there is no suggestion that either the British or the Germans should interfere with the right of the French to conduct their internal affairs their own way.

The suggestion is that the French socialists

laid down the terms on which they would agree to German rearmament and that those terms have not been fulfilled. So the grievance of French "democracy" is that it is not to be allowed to interfere with the internal affairs of Germany.

With few exceptions French "socialists" are (and always have been) chauvinists and imperialists; and here they are, at it again, trying to treat Germany with the same arrogance that they have shown towards French colonial subjects.

But Ben Parkin is very sorry for the French. As members of EDC he says, "They will have to surrender military sovereignty" and so on. This is a very serious matter—only the author seems to have forgotten that the French have entered into this military alliance of their own free will—with the Germans it was Hobson's choice.

★

"There is not," writes Ben Parkin, "the slightest prospect of any British Party asking the House of Commons to make the sacrifices of sovereignty and independence which they are trying to foist or force upon the French."

As France is not an occupied country or bound by unilateral treaties I fail to see the force of argument. Had "the Germans" been substituted for "the French" it would have been of great cogency—but it would have destroyed Ben Parkin's case; as in fact it does.

### NEW GANDHI BIOGRAPHY

## Testimony of a friend

"My Gandhi," by John Haynes Holmes. George Allen & Unwin Ltd., 10s. 6d. net.

**DR. JOHN HAYNES HOLMES**, the distinguished American preacher, has more right than most men to write about Gandhi; for he declared Gandhi to be "the greatest man now living in the world" as long ago as April, 1921, before an astonished New York congregation.

At that time he had never met Gandhi; many of his audience had probably never even heard of him!

From then on till Gandhi's death in January, 1948, Dr. Holmes continued to follow Gandhi's career closely, and he never found cause to change his opinion. He only met Gandhi in London in 1931 and in India a few weeks before his death.

### Clear focus

The book does not add much to our knowledge of Gandhi, but it does help to bring the man into clear focus. Dr. Holmes points out that our knowledge of some of the great men of the past—Jesus and Socrates in particular—is limited to a few reports from only a handful of their contemporaries. He suggests that, in the case of a man of such outstanding character as Gandhi, we should have the testimonies of as many as possible of those who saw or knew him. Thus the title "MY GANDHI" is not possessive; it means "MY INTERPRETATION OF GANDHI." In the end, nothing can approach Gandhi's own writings, especially his Autobiography, as revealing his full character; but the testimonies of all who knew him have undoubted value—partly because they should stir the reader to go back to Gandhi's own writings.

Dr. Holmes is not always absolutely accurate in detail, but his general survey of Gandhi's life is admirable; and his "summary" could scarcely be improved.

"It must be obvious by now," he writes, "that Gandhi was primarily a saint." But wherein lay the special qualities of his saintliness?

Dr. Holmes puts first his "inextinguishable gaiety." Whether that quality should come first or not, it must certainly rank very high.

"There were times, of course, too serious and indeed too terrible for laughter." Occasions, yes, but even in the darkest moments I have seen him inducing laughter among his close colleagues—he certainly had learnt that no situation was so black or hopeless as to have no brighter aspect. He could laugh when reduced to weakness by a fast.

### Selfless love

"Unconquerable equanimity," an expression used by Dr. Holmes, is justified. "Disinterestedness" is given as the second attribute of his sanctity (I should prefer "saintliness," but words have different shades of meaning on the two sides of the Atlantic): "That selfless love which asks nothing for oneself and everything for others." I can certainly testify that I have never known a man who seemed so totally freed from self-love and self-regard.

"Compassion for mankind" is the third quality singled out. And "accessibility to all," from the mightiest to the humblest, follows. "Lastly, and most important," writes Dr. Holmes, "was his deliberate communion with God. Gandhi sought the Truth, and the Truth was God."

Dr. Holmes quotes a superb "order of the day" given to his non-violent "troops" at one of the times of Civil Disobedience:

If you are arrested, go to prison quietly. If assaulted, bear it cheerfully. If shot, die peacefully.

That was the way he lived and died. Something of his way of life has struck root in India; it may yet bring healing to all the nations.

HORACE ALEXANDER.

New ideas and new developments in social organisation and human relations are now beginning to come forward.

One of the tasks of the Third Camp movement is to stimulate thought and discussion about them. This article, re-

produced with the kind permission of the Anarchist weekly, *Freedom*, is published as a contribution to that discussion.

## SELF HELP IN AMERICA

### Flight from mechanical conformity?

By Philip Sansom

IT does no good to despair of humanity; still less to be dogmatic about its apparently suicidal tendencies.

The resilience of ordinary human beings and their surprising ability to react healthily to the most unhealthy circumstances gives cause for optimism even though the masters of the world—and the fact that millions of "ordinary" human beings follow them—would indicate the opposite.

From America, the home of the gadget and the mass-production method, citadel of canned food, juke boxes and duodenal ulcers; from the "Air Conditioned Nightmare," comes what seems to me to be one of the few constructive and promising trends of their frightening post-war era.

### A human reaction

The "Do-it-Yourself" craze which has swept America is not based on any social ideology or political theory. It simply appears as a human reaction against an increasingly inhuman society—the individual hitting back at an economic and political set-up which swamped him as a person under its mechanical conformity.

What has actually happened is that millions of Americans have found the satisfaction and joy of getting down to doing and making things for themselves and for their own use. Today, instead of buying a new table, an increasing number of Americans—men and women—are just as likely to buy a set of tools and the timber and set to make it for themselves.

And it doesn't stop at simple carpentry. The ambitious do-it-yourselfers have built themselves houses, boats, cars and airplanes—and when they have finished one project, they turn to another.

The spread of do-it-yourself activity in America has had some slight attention in Britain. Some months ago the BBC made a brief mention of it in a news commentary, and the Press has noted it in a perfunctory manner. Perhaps I am inclined to read too much into it and give it a significance it does not really merit, but being presented with a full picture of the phenomenon in the American magazine *Time* (August 2, 1954) has confirmed my first interest rather than dampened it.

### How—and why—it began

Time points to the beginning of the movement as a result of wartime experience. Men and women learnt trades and gained abilities they never had before. Housewives returning to the kitchen after a few years in a factory were no longer unable to fix a washer on a tap; husbands who had handled the equipment of war could now tackle running repairs, improvements and extensions in the home and in the garage.

But it is clearly deeper than that and Time realises it:

"Furthermore, the whole character of US life has been undergoing a complex change. As mass-production techniques have broken

jobs into smaller and smaller parts, the average American worker has often lost sight of the end product he is helping to build; his feeling of accomplishment has been wittled away as his job has become only a tiny part of the whole production process. In the same way, the meaning of the tasks performed by white-collar employees and executives often becomes lost in the complexities of giant corporations; it is hard for them to see what they are really accomplishing. But in his home workshop, anyone from president down to file clerk can take satisfaction from the fine table, chair or cabinet taking shape under his own hands—and bulge with pride again as he shows them off to friends."

Not only that. The healing powers of constructive work are demonstrated in plenty of cases:—

"One Dallas doctor, a do-it-yourself addict himself, often advises patients to 'go home and start doing things themselves.' A harried executive who took up woodworking in his spare hours to ease the tension swears that it kept him from suicide. In Minneapolis an elderly dowager recently walked into a hardware store to look at power tools. 'For your husband, Madam?' asked the clerk. 'Good heavens, no,' she said. 'I want them myself.' Her doctor had told her to take up knitting, but she thought wood-working sounded more interesting."

"One successful Zion, Ill. jewellery-store owner, Wesley Ashland, cured himself of a nervous breakdown by building his own home. He got out in the woods, found a plot with a small ravine and creek, oaks, elm, hard maple and hawthorn. He drew his own design for an L-shaped ranch house, planned it so that he could save all but two of the trees. He built a bridge over the ravine with 340 bolted railroad ties, and laid a 350 ft. winding lane, bought saws, an electric drill, a jeep, and an old concrete mixer. He built a concrete and limestone house, worked through the winter in 10° below zero weather. Inside the four-room house all closets were cedar-lined, all screens and storm windows handmade of aluminium. He did all the plumbing, wiring and panelling himself. To him the backbreaking work 'is a relaxation.' Now, at 60, he is healthier than he has been in years."

### "What about the lazy man?"

The ever-recurring abjection to anarchism of the lazy man in a free society also finds another answer in the attractions of do-it-yourself:—

"For example, Sid Bernstein, 35, came back to Los Angeles from serving in the Air Force in India in World War II determined to spend every free hour lounging in his backyard. He managed to do so for 2½ years. 'I could look across the street and see a poor boob mowing his lawn, carrying ladders into his house and unloading a lot of junk from his car,' recalls Bernstein. 'I felt sorry for the guy, honestly. I wondered why he was knocking himself out on his day off.'"

"But one fateful day Lounger Bernstein was persuaded by his wife to paper a wall. 'It was

easy,' says he. 'They make wallpaper with glue on the back, and all you do is dip the stuff in water and roll it on.' Bernstein soon bought himself a \$12.75 home-carpentry set and nailed up a shelf. 'Did a good job, too.' In quick order, he reversed a bothersome living-room door, made a plywood table for his son's electric-train set, laid a tile floor in the bathroom. 'Great stuff—it's got suction cups on the bottom—no trouble laying it down.' Last week ex-Lounger Bernstein was busy building a brick wall for his backyard, a wall bookcase, and planning a handsome new cabinet for the hi-fi set he had just bought."

### Social and individual production

For Anarchists, this whole activity provides ammunition for our arguments and food for our thought. As one who has always urged, not a complete condemnation and wholesale overthrow of modern technology, but the rational working out of a balance between machine and hand, between social and individual production, the do-it-yourself craze in America seems to me to represent just such a synthesis.

Some things, requiring special equipment, knowledge and skill, will, I feel, even in a free society, have to be produced on something like mass production methods. But, clearly, many individual needs can be satisfied by individual effort.

Even this do-it-yourself activity depends to a large extent on pre-fabricated materials and small machine tools. Drills, saws, planes, small garden tractors, paint rollers, ready-gummed wallpapers, pre-cut timber, etc., must all be produced in factories before the do-it-yourselfers can get cracking.

And, of course, the craze itself has led to the business world cashing in on it. Supply of the tools, materials and books of instructions to what has become known as "the shoulder trade" (because the hobbyists carry their own goods home on their own shoulders) is already big business—estimated to reach \$10 billion a year by 1960!

### Will they be less aggressive?

That is inevitable under a capitalist economy. Any human demand will find its exploitation. But as I see it, that is not the important thing. What matters is that millions of ordinary people are reacting in a healthy way against a machine-dominated system; they are relying on their own efforts to satisfy their own needs; they are developing their creativity and finding health and self-respect (and the respect of their neighbours, which is also important to people) at the same time.

Of course they are not anarchists, and millions of them never will be. Just the same, I fancy that people who find satisfaction in these ways are less likely to find interest in the sordid deserts of politics, will be less anxious to leave home to fight in foreign wars, will be less aggressive against fellow human beings.

If that is so, putting up a shelf in a Los Angeles suburb may be helping to make a better world.

\*High-fidelity reproduction.



## Talking of books...

By Robert Greacen

**The Soldier at the Door**, by Edith Pargeter. Heinemann, 12s. 6d.  
**The Edge of the Sword**, by Capt. Anthony Farrar-Hockley, DSO, MC. Muller, 12s. 6d.

MISS EDITH PARGETER has written a very fine novel in **THE SOLDIER AT THE DOOR**.

A young conscript from the small town of Caldington is killed in Korea shortly before the Armistice. The novel goes on to deal with the effects of his death on a number of people in his home town: his parents, the rector, the MP, and the MP's son.

The dead boy's mother, without understanding the reasons in ethical terms, is anti-war; she is horrified, in an instinctive way, not merely at the death of her own son but at the tragedy of war itself. She has no belief

in the virtue of dying for hollow platitudes like Democracy, Freedom and Country. And, partly through meeting her, the Socialist MP's son comes to a decision that will seriously affect his father's career. He will resist conscription and, if necessary, go to prison.

### Betrayal

The boy walks out of a memorial service in disgust at the betrayal of Christian principles by the rector, for he senses that the clergyman in his heart knows what he is doing. That leads to a show-down with his politician father, one of the most dramatic chapters in the book. Here also the boy's one weakness of thought is revealed as will be seen from this quotation:

"Are you trying to say," asked Dallas in a tone of extreme and brittle carefulness, "that you're a conscientious objector? Do you intend to go to a tribunal and ask for exemption?"

"I don't intend to ask for anything." A sparkle of disdainful amusement came into his eyes; he leaned forward in his chair, and allowed himself one scornful gesture of his hand, brushing the inexpressible mean safeguards of law out of his way. "I've got what's important to me, all I have to do is to prevent anybody from taking it from me or persuading me to give it up. But anyhow, you see, I don't think I am a conscientious objector, so it doesn't arise. I don't go as far as they do—or maybe it's rather that I go in a slightly different way..."



Change of mind at a service

But I do not want to denigrate Miss Pargeter's achievement. She has written a novel strong in characterisation, rich in incident and informed by a passion rare in contemporary novelists. Her novel is "about something," not just another exercise in false sensibility. The people in the book are real; the Socialist MP, wanting the best of all worlds, is no monster although his shortcomings are skilfully revealed.

**THE SOLDIER AT THE DOOR** may be strongly recommended.

Capt. Farrar-Hockley of the Gloucestershire Regiment writes in **THE EDGE OF THE SWORD** of the now historic battle of the Impin River. Then he deals with his capture, his various escapes from internment and the interrogations by Chinese and North Koreans. His story of the "brainwashing" process by which the Chinese attempted to "re-educate" him in Marxism makes interesting reading.

It certainly appears that Capt. Farrar-Hockley has a high degree of courage; and, considering his treatment, he writes with commendable objectivity. This sordid account of mass violence and individual maltreatment contains one or two incidents that show how even in war-time acts of kindness between enemies actually happen. It is to Capt. Farrar-Hockley's credit that he does not omit them.

## Letters to the Editor

### Caroline's Bathroom

I, CAROLINE MAVUSO, of the Moroka Day Nursery ask for a space in your paper to thank the honourable citizens of Britain who have squeezed their lives to make donations for these poor children. On behalf of these and on behalf of their poor parents, I thank their company.

God has moved in a most mysterious way to shake the hearts of people who do not even see the burden of hardships of these children's lives.

I humbly pray the Almighty hand to fill again the purses they have emptied for a Moroka child.

Partly we have to rest assured that our Lord left a promise that who so ever considers the poor, He will remember in the times of judgment.

A prodigal son was in deep tears when he told his father he was not worth to be called his son. By so saying, I am trying to explain that I do not know what children of Moroka have done in the face of the Almighty to deserve such a gift. I am speechless presently.

This letter cannot express the thanks and show the depths of the bottom of my heart.

I shall try without ceasing to erect this bathroom for the children. The Johannesburg City Council is also helping. The Quakers in South Africa are also trying hard to show love to others. I am longing to see this work standing in front of everybody's eyes and having it as a memory of "Love."

Please convey this message to the readers of Peace News on my behalf.

Your friend in Christ,

CAROLINE MAVUSO.

Moroka Day Nursery,  
PO Moroka, Johannesburg.

### Third Camp

FOR a startling forecast of the Third Camp Movement, one should read H. G. Wells, "The Open Conspiracy." The reading of this book might help us to think more clearly about the nature of this movement.

One feels that our conception of what collectively constitutes the "Third Way" is perhaps a little too limited, and we could rightly include the Movements for Peace, Non-violence, Economic Reform and Social Credit, Freedom and Democracy, Animal Welfare, World Government and the rest, as all making for the establishment of a Social Order not based on the Capitalist or Communist ideologies.

Many of the organisations, etc. which constitute the Third Camp Movement are unconscious of this fact, and the organisation now called the "Third Camp Movement" should perhaps rename itself the Third Camp Movement Co-ordinating Centre, and make as its main object the spreading of Third Camp ideas, the bringing of others to realise that

they do constitute the Third Camp Movement, and the co-ordination of all conscious Third Camp efforts into a united front.

PETER A. SLADE.

284 Sutherland Ave, Welling.

### Clerical conversation

THE conversation between two Roman Catholic priests, reproduced from the *Catholic Herald* in a recent issue of *Peace News*, reveals the pathetic inability of the Pope to impress his views on some of his clerics.

In 1949, Pope Pius XII said that "No one who has a true sense of humanity can fail to censure the use of all those modern weapons which strike indiscriminately at combatants and civilian populations, and in 1951, the Hierarchy in France declared: "For our part, we condemn them (those modern weapons) with all our strength, as we did not hesitate to condemn during the last war the mass bombardments which, in attacking military objectives, struck down old men, women and children."

In 1951, a number of English Roman Catholics appealed to Cardinal Griffin and the Hierarchy of England and Wales and begged for guidance similar to that given by the French Hierarchy. In spite of several reminders, they have not received any reply.

In the United States, the situation is worse. Cardinal Spellman is the leader of a group of clerics who give ardent support to "Bomber" MacArthur, in open defiance of the censure of the Holy Father. It seems that the present Pope dare not assert his authority over his recalcitrant clerics, just as his predecessor dared not condemn Mussolini's crimes in Abyssinia.

F. O'HANLON.

St. Michael's  
Hayling Rise, Worthing.

### W.R.I. Conference

MAY I in the interests of historical record point out that your report that the opening address of the recent Conference of the War Resisters' International was given by A. J. Muste is not correct.

The opening address of the Conference was given by the President of the WRI, Mr. Harold Bing, and in it he ranged over the whole work of the WRI embracing a field of which the third way is but a part.

FRANK DAWTRY.

Second House, Limes Road,  
Weybridge.

True; we apologise. Ed.

### Labour & German arms

MR. F. C. GREEN Secretary of the Westbury Constituency Labour Party writes to say that the woman delegate from Westbury to the South West Regional Conference referred to in *Peace News* for August 6, who had declared that her Party was in favour of German Rearmament was referring to a resolution passed by the Westbury Local Labour Party. The Westbury Constituency Labour Party on the other hand had passed the following resolution:

"This Constituency Party views with grave concern any move to re-arm Germany, believing that such a move will seriously endanger the peace of the world and would jeopardise any understanding with the Eastern European countries."

### NEXT ROUND IN S. AFRICA

THE next phase in the campaign of passive resistance to unjust laws in South Africa is in process of preparation.

More than 3,000 people have already enrolled as members of the volunteer corps which is being organised by the African National Congress and the South African Indian Congress to fight racial segregation.

The two organisations have appealed for 50,000 volunteers. The volunteers will wear the badges of the African National Congress.

## Workshop for rural development

THE International Institute of Differing Civilisations (INCIDI)\* is one of many lesser-known international organisations which is helping to mould public opinion on the problems of the under-developed territories.

Last autumn it held a meeting at The Hague to discuss the programme and plans for rural development in tropical and sub-tropical countries, and specialists in their subjects read papers on what was being done in several African territories, Burma, Thailand, Ceylon,

India, Indo-China, Indonesia, Israel, Malaya, the Philippines, New Guinea, and some of the countries in South America.

The report of the conference, which has recently been published, is not a book for the layman—it is far too detailed and technical for that. But it is part of the raw material on which everybody who is concerned with this subject will draw for many years to come.

Rural development has been much neglected in the past, but it is now recognised as basic to any kind of good life in developed as well

as in under-developed countries. Everybody is trying out new ideas and progress will be much faster if they can draw on the experience of advancement and mistakes which have been made elsewhere.

For that reason we all owe a debt of great gratitude to those who organised a conference on this subject and made its working papers and its conclusions available to the many people who are working in this field.

\*11, Boulevard de Waterloo, Brussels.

GEOFFREY WILSON.

## DIARY

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers; organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

DERBY: 10.30 a.m.: meet at Bus Station (Hart's) for leaflet distribution. 3.30 p.m.: Temperance Ho., 110 Osmaston Rd. Poster parade. 5 p.m.: Tea (provided). 6.30 p.m.: 2nd poster parade. 7.45 p.m.: Market Place—open-air mtg. PPU.

Sunday, September 5  
DERBY: 7.30 p.m.: Market Place. Open-air mtg. Fred. G. Forder and others. PPU.

### INVITATION

The meetings announced in "Notes for your diary," are open to all; they are not confined to members of the organisations sponsoring them or to pacifists. Some of the meetings are in large halls, some in small rooms in private houses; they are organised by groups of people who want the support of those concerned with the preservation of peace. YOU will be made welcome.

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LATEST TIME for copy: Monday morning before publication.

MEETINGS  
INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday. 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute. 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel Peace. Rev. Claud M. Coleman, WA, B.Lit.

ACCOMMODATION WANTED AND OFFERED  
HOMELY ACCOMMODATION and jolly good food to visitors and permanent guests. CANONBURY 1348, Telka Shayler, 27 Hamilton Pk., N.5.

AGM DELEGATE recommends Shayler for board or bed and breakfast.

### PERSONAL

ELIJAH COMING before Christ. World's only hope for peace. Wonderful book free. Meadido Mission, Dept. 7 Rochester, NY.

INTRODUCTIONS to new friends: home and overseas. V.C.C., 34 Honeywell, London, S.W.11.

LEIPZIG FAIR and Berlin. Motoring party, September 1-22. Two vacancies. Inclusive cost £40 each. HAMPSHIRE 0249. Box No. 576.

REGINALD BAILEY, Naturopath and psychiatrist. 134 Hoppers Rd., N.21. Palmers Green 9688. By appt.

WAR RESISTERS' International welcomes gifts of foreign stamps and undamaged air mail covers. Please send to WRI, Lansbury House, 88 Park Ave., Bush Hill Park, Enfield, Middlesex.

### EDUCATION

SPEAKING AND WRITING lessons (correspondence, visit). 5s. Dorothy Matthews, BA, 32 Primrose Hill Rd., London, N.W.3. PRImrose 5686.

### LITERATURE

ARE YOU A FOOD CRANK? asks a lively article in the current number of *The Farmer*, which gives every information on how to become one with benefit to you and your family. Read also *Weeds Without Worry: Garden Work for the Autumn: Some Essentials of a Good Hotel*. 2s. 6d. a copy, 10s. a year, post free. Edited by Newman Turner, from Ferne Farm (P), Shaftesbury, Dorset.

NO DEFENCE? (Ronald Mallone); "Folly of Politics" (Patrick Richards); "Women and Children First" (Moiria Knight); "Every Time you Kill" (Veronica Maddingley); "America and Britain" (Stephen Parnell); "Beauty Endures" (Eyrone Ireland); "A Better Remedy for Evil"; "Aussies, Springboks and Pakistanis" ("Opening Bat"); "The Boat Race" (R. H. Johnston); "Chaucer to Huxley"; Poem (Malcolm Tattersall). Reports on books, films, plays, cricket in "un-Common Sense" (9d. post 14d.) 141 Woolacombe Rd., Blackheath, S.E.3.

SITUATIONS AND WORK WANTED  
ALTERATIONS, CONVERSIONS, Repairs and all types of building work efficiently carried out by Parsons and Co., 323 Kennington Rd., S.E.11. REL 1421 for immediate attention.

FIRST-CLASS duplicating/typing. Mabel Eyles Secretarial Service, 395 Hornsey Rd., N.19. ARC 1765. Ext 1.

HUMANITARIAN Pacifist, aged 26, married, with good Hons. B.Sc. degree (Botany & Zoology) and experience of agriculture & seed trade, seeks post where opinions are respected and qualifications can be used. Suggestions welcomed. Write Box 575.

### SITUATIONS VACANT

The engagement of persons answering these advertisements must be made through a local office of the Ministry of Labour or a scheduled employment agency if the applicant is a man aged 18 to 64 or a woman aged 18 to 59 inclusive unless he or she, or the employer, is exempted from the provisions of the Notification of Vacancies Order, 1952.

PEACE NEWS office has vacancy for assistant in publishing dept. Full time junior preferred; typing, duplicating, dispatch work, etc. Please write details of experience to Manager, Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

TWO SCHOOLS for maladjusted boys require: two housemothers, general duties, salary £5 per week; two qualified teachers, salary £6 per week. Posts are resident, no deductions from salary. One school situated in country, the other thirty miles from London. Box 574.

### FOR SALE AND WANTED

WANTED, a poster site in Manchester. City preferred. For PPU posters. One week only. Ring ALTringham 2491.

HOUSMANS' STATIONERY DEPT. offer plain postcards, 2 6d. 100; 6 x 3 1/2 envelopes, white 18s. 6d. 1,000 box manilla, 10s. 9d. 1,000 box; white bank paper, 10 x 8 in., 7s. 6d. 500 sheets; Newsprinters, 10 x 5 in., 15s. 1,000; 1s. 9d. 100; plain economy labels, 4 1/2 x 3 1/2 in., 13s. 6d. 1,000; 1s. 6d. 100. All post free. Help Peace News Fund by ordering your business, group and private stationery requirements from HOUSMANS, 3 Blackstock Rd., London, N.4.

### HOLIDAYS

WHATEVER THE WEATHER you can be sure of a happy holiday at "The Briars" Vegetarian Guest House, Crich, Matlock. Write for particulars or phone AMBERGATE 44. Ronald and Marguerite Heymans.

As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Friday, August 20  
LIVERPOOL: 8 p.m.: Pier Head. Open-air mtg. "No More War." Liverpool Peace Board.

Saturday, August 21  
PORTSMOUTH: 7.30 p.m.: Southsea Front. Open-air meeting and leaflet distribution. FoR.

Sunday, August 22  
GLASGOW: 8 p.m.: Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.  
HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.: Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

Wednesday, August 25  
NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.: Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. FoR. PPU.

Thursday, August 26  
LEYTONSTONE: 8 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho., Bush Rd., Group discussion. PPU.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.: Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.  
LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.: Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

Friday, August 27  
PRESTON: 3 p.m.: Unitarian Ch., Percy St. Area Mtg. 8 p.m.: Open-air mtg. N. West Area PPU.

Saturday, August 28  
MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.: Friends Mtg. Ho. Special meeting to discuss 1955 AGM whereabouts. PPU Manchester Central Gp.

Sunday, August 29  
LONDON, N.W.11: 3 p.m.: King Alfred School, North End Rd. London Area garden party. PPU.

Saturday, September 4  
LONDON, W.C.1: "Renounce the H-bomb" rally. 1.45 p.m. Marchers and pipe band assemble at Endsleigh St., Euston. 3 p.m. Meeting in Trafalgar Square: Emrys Hughes, MP, Victor Yates, MP, John Hoyland and others. Chair Sybil Moxison. 5 p.m. Peace Exhibition, Bookstall and Buffet in Friends Meeting House, St. Martins Lane, followed by "Any Questions?" session, 7 p.m. FPC, FoR, PPU, APF, MPCC.



# COLONIES AND THE THIRD CAMP

The following is an abridged version of an address by Mr. A. Fenner Brockway, MP, on "Colonial and Economic aspects of the Third Camp," which was delivered to the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International in Paris.

THE moral power of the colonial countries and the countries which, previously colonial, have now obtained their independence, is a much greater influence in world affairs than we sometimes think. I would say that among the statesmen of the world, Jawarhalal Nehru, the Prime Minister of India, is influencing international events at this moment as much as the heads of powerful economic and military states, because Nehru not only speaks for India but for thousands of human beings in other countries.

What has been achieved at the Geneva conference during the last few weeks is of very great significance. The French representative was undoubtedly influenced by the great desire amongst the French population for peace; but why did Mr. Anthony Eden, with considerable courage, take a line that was different from that of America?

## Unseen guests

Partly, I think, because we in Britain have not quite the same obsession about the menace of Communism as in America; partly, I think, because we in Britain realise that in a world war, 12 hydrogen bombs would mean the entire destruction of our small and crowded country, partly because in Britain we have an organised "Left" force in politics to the absence of which in America A. J. Muste has referred, and more important than all those reasons, was the influence of India and of other Asian countries.

I happen to know that Mr. Eden went to untold trouble to be sure that Britain was walking in step with the desires of India. They were represented in the person of Mr. Krishna Menon in the talks, but India, Ceylon, Pakistan, Indonesia and Burma were the unseen guests at the Geneva Conference and their attitude and their moral stand for peace was, I think, the greatest factor in the British contribution which Mr. Eden made on the side of peace.

That is one illustration of the great moral power that can still be exerted in the world even by nations which are not industrially or militarily powerful.

## Intuitive attitude

And even if the new countries do not become industrialised in the latter half of this century, the countries which grow the food of the world are going to be very important in the economic sphere. The population of the earth is growing in advance of the food supplies of the earth and within 20 years' time the countries which are growing the food of the earth will have a very strong economic position in relation to other countries.

Therefore the attitude of the colonies to the subject we are discussing, their attitude towards America, their attitude towards Russia, is of the greatest importance. A. J. Muste has mentioned that at the House of Commons he met representatives from the British colonies who said to him that the attitude of the Third Camp is almost intuitive to the peoples in the colonies. I can say from my own experience that that is true.

When Nehru takes that attitude he is representing something more than himself, he is representing the instinctive mind of the peoples of many Asian countries and of the colonies of Africa and the Caribbean.

In India itself it is not only the attitude of Nehru, it is the attitude of the Indian Socialist Party, which is now the second largest Socialist party in the world. It is the attitude of the Asian Socialist conference, which declined to become a section of the Socialist International because the Socialist International is too much bound up with one of the two powers into which the world is divided.

My own realisation of this attitude of the colonial peoples came at a conference which

was held in Paris in 1948. Western Socialists, and particularly the French Socialist Party, had called together the peoples of Africa and of Asia to work out a common economic plan with Western Europe, and the attitude of the African and Asian representatives was very decisive.

They said: "We are not prepared to work out a common economic plan with Western Europe because that would make us a part of one of the two blocs into which the world is divided." They said: "We have no responsibility for this division in the world. We are not going to identify ourselves with either one bloc or the other. When the time comes for us to have self-government our contribution to the world will be the same contribution to peace as India is already making."

There was one other decision by the African and Asian representatives at that conference which surprised me a little. They said "We are opposed to occupation by one power; we are opposed to occupation by a group of powers; but we are not only nationalists we are internationalists and we recognise that when we ourselves have self-government we should have loyalties to an international authority—indeed, we look forward to the time of world government."

## No exaggeration

Those representatives from Sierra Leone, from Nigeria, from the Gold Coast, from Morocco, from Tunisia, Algeria, and the Sudan, Kenya, Uganda, India, Indonesia, Viet-Nam, Ceylon, were unanimous in that double attitude.

I do not think it is an exaggeration to say that so far as the British colonies in Africa are concerned every single African leader takes the view of the Third Camp. Dr. Nkrumah, who has stepped out of prison to become the Prime Minister of the Gold Coast—it is the habit of Prime Ministers to step out of prison—has taken the line emphatically in the Gold Coast and I can give the names of colony after colony where that has happened; they all take the view of the Third Camp.

But I want to warn this conference of two or three dangers. The first is the danger that unless the imperial governments, and particularly the Labour and Socialist parties in the countries of those imperial governments, adopt a much bolder policy for the liberation of the colonies, the support which is now given to the Third Camp idea will turn to support of Communist Russia and the Communist countries.

Another danger on which I wish to sound some warning is of political leaders in the colonies who, when they achieve a position of personal power tend to compromise their attitude of principle in favour of the Third Camp idea and to enter one camp or the other as a matter of bargaining for their political advancement or for the political advancement of their country.

## Boldness needed

The Third danger to which I wish to refer arises from the discovery and explosion of the hydrogen bomb. Recently the people of the Marshall Islands petitioned the Trusteeship Council of the United Nations against the effects of the hydrogen bomb upon the people of their territory.

The people of the Marshall Islands are likely to lose their enthusiasm for the West and, because Soviet bombs are not dropped so close, to turn their interests towards Soviet Russia, unless the Third Camp idea can be brought before the world much more challengingly than it is at present.

The other illustration I give from Japan. The Times within the last fortnight has carried an article describing the anti-American and anti-West feeling which is just sweeping through the peoples of Japan because of the dropping of the hydrogen bomb in the Pacific.

## The economic aspect

I turn now to the economic aspect. It is perfectly true as A. J. Muste has said that it would be possible for the countries of Western Europe within a fairly reasonable period to make themselves economically independent of the United States of America by means of the development of the possible resources of the colonies.

Except for oil the Continent of Africa could provide Britain with every raw material and every food stuff that it requires. This would be a possible way of gaining that economic independence of America, which so closely ties Britain and Western Europe to American policies.

In my view it is not enough for us to build up a Third Camp against war.

If we are going to build a Third Camp it must be for something positive and constructive and the constructive conception is a world crusade against destitution, disease and illiteracy wherever they are found upon the earth; it is to transform expenditure now devoted to armaments to human salvation, to lift people from hunger and sickness and lack of education.

# "Sitting down with murderers"

The Attlee Mission to China has turned out to be the Attlee Mission to Moscow. Hector McNeil roared that it was a case of sitting down with murderers, and Mr. Attlee acidly condemned him for irresponsibility. . . . McNeil was almost certainly right, and we had the grotesque spectacle of Dr. Edith Summerskill, who objects to boxing, sitting down with gentlemen like Vishinsky, one of the world's ugliest customers, who knows all there is to know about fighting with the gloves off.

— "Cassandra" Daily Mirror, August 16, 1954.

THE only means of seeing "Vicky's" inimitable cartoons is to take the Daily Mirror, and now and again one is enlivened by that clever journalist "Cassandra." But now, in these summerless summer days, "Vicky" has been on holiday, and "Cassandra," returning from his, after three weeks of sunshine, appears to be suffering from a bad attack of sunstroke.

I hold no brief for Attlee's "mission," if that is what it is, to Moscow. He may have gone for any of the various reasons imputed to him: curiosity; because he thought it might pull in votes at the coming general election; or because he honestly believed it a good idea to make "peaceful" contact with those in power in the Soviet Union. In any case there seems no great harm in such a visit unless, perhaps, there was too much Vodka taken!

It is always easy to misinterpret motives, and as I have pointed out recently in this column, a great many people judge the motives of others by their own.



To refer to a meeting with Soviet Union officials as tantamount to "sitting down with murderers" comes a little oddly from those who wholeheartedly supported sitting down with them at Casablanca, Yalta, Teheran and Potsdam; who, without hesitation, welcomed them as allies in the war with Hitler.

No doubt "murderers" are the best sort of allies in a war where every international undertaking was broken, where civilians were used as targets, and the atom bomb launched without warning on a country that was asking for peace negotiations.

I know little about boxing, though I happen to agree with Edith Summerskill that a sport which involves an extremity of violence and often causes great suffering to the protagonists, is revolting and uncivilised. But, I have always understood that "taking the gloves off" means quite a different thing; that it, in fact, indicates that the game is over and the real fight is on.

There are, unfortunately, many politicians, and others besides Mr. Vishinsky who believe in fighting. Would Cassandra also be prepared to back Hector McNeil if he had declared that to sit down with General Mark Clark was tantamount to sitting down with a murderer?

Yet, if ever the "gloves were off," and a very ugly customer revealed without them, Mark Clark's recent pronouncements would seem to place him in that category.

If Attlee is "sitting down with murderers" now, if Edith Summerskill is hobnobbing with "one of the world's ugliest customers," then Churchill would be in no different case if he gained his desire to initiate "top level" talks between the East and the West.

Those who support him in this desire, and strongly advocate such talks, must know that it is necessary to sit around a table for that purpose. Unless, of course, unwillingness to sit down with those who have countenanced the murder of tens of thousands of human beings, makes it necessary for all the representatives to remain standing!

The childish, aggressive, and abusive language used by McNeil, and also by Cassandra, does no-one any good, for abuse is no argument, and is always exceedingly provocative. The cold war has certainly given plenty of evidence of the ability of both sides to indulge in futile abuse and dangerous threats.

If all this talk of peaceful co-existence is nothing but the gesture of a velvet glove concealing a knuckleduster, it would be more honest perhaps to "take the gloves off," but it

## Revolution of the century

How is this economic aid to be given? I do not think we should accept the idea that it shall be by the investment of private capital, for then economic imperialism will follow political imperialism. Northern Rhodesia at the present time illustrates the danger of this.

The economic aid must be given first by those countries which have directly exploited colonial countries, and I apply that direct to Britain. This year Great Britain is spending £1,963,000,000 on the armed forces; we are spending £120,000,000 on betterment in our colonial territories.

We should not be content merely with asking for national effort or United Nations effort, but we should try to stimulate some personal effort. Nearly every colony today would welcome men and women, particularly young men and women, who are technicians, who are teachers, if those men and women went to those colonies without any conception of racial superiority and if they went in the spirit of service.

In my view the Third Camp movement, which stands for something different from America and something different from Russia, which stands for building up a movement for peace between them, must identify itself with this revolution of the century, the struggle of the peoples of Asia and of Africa and the Caribbean towards their political liberty, towards social justice, towards an education which will make them fully developed human beings.

If we do that we shall find in these liberated colonial peoples the greatest allies in the cause of peace, and in the cause of a movement in the world which will seek to prevent the two great blocs from going to war with each other.

would be more reasonable, and more likely to secure peace, to put away the velvet glove along with the knuckleduster, and come to the table with clean hands.

I no more hold a brief for the Soviet Union brand of Communism than I do for prize-fighting, but plainly, they will not be converted by violence. What is needed today is the tongue, not of a termagant, but a reconciler; the hands, not of a fighter, but a healer. That could, and should, be Britain's role.

## STUART MORRIS'S REPORT

□ From page one

religion was concerned with truth. He thought, therefore, that organised religion should not be asked to back the Third Camp, but he believed nevertheless that since the Third Camp would aim at exposing the futility of war genuinely religious individuals would feel impelled to back it.

Andre Trocme saw the Third Camp as a movement of liberation. The Gandhian creed involved non-co-operation, austerity, a readiness to accept discipline, and to identify oneself with the outcast. The movement should be ready to identify itself with exploited peoples of the world. It should also organise training centres where leaders might be trained in self-discipline and develop the moral qualities necessary to make the Third Camp an effective spiritual force.

Don't create a new machine, but let loose a new inspiration, was his message, seek not conquest, but conversion.

## NEW COMMITTEE FORMED

Stuart Morris informed his audience that in the course of the WRI conference a small group, of which Allen Skinner and himself were members, had come together to consider ways of furthering the Third Camp Movement and had reached a number of decisions (see front page).

Towards the end of the meeting a working committee consisting of Allen Skinner, chairman; David Wickes, secretary; John Banks, international secretary; and Tom Wardle, Press officer, was elected.

John Banks announced details of forthcoming meetings and schools on the Third Camp to take place in Britain this year (details will appear in Peace News).

Allen Skinner, editor of Peace News, was in the chair. The audience participated keenly in all the discussion.

## Renounce the H-bomb!

### Trafalgar Square Rally

Saturday, September 4

3 p.m.

March to the Square led by

London Pipe Band

Assemble, 6 Endsleigh St., W.C.1 1.45 p.m.

John Hoyland; Emrys Hughes MP; Stuart Morris Rev Francis Noble; Victor Yates MP. Chair: Sybil Morrison.

From 5 p.m.

Westminster Friends Meeting House,

52, St Martins Lane

Buffet tea; Peace exhibition; Bookstall

7 p.m.

## Any questions?

Emrys Hughes MP; D. Martin Dakin; Clifford Macquire; Stuart Morris and others. Question master Sybil Morrison.

## New books and pamphlets

THE THIRD CAMP 4d (1½d)

John Banks outlines a practical policy for ending the cold war

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Dick Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1